

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side¹ is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth
are those of the so-called "dog-fish," silyugapeva in Tapirapd,
a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon
subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like denti-
tion (cf. Rodolfo von Shering, 166). The 17 teeth of the scarifier
I acquired in Tampinisa (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centi-
meters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five
and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapd, the
981 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first
menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between
January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game
crowded together by the rising waters, and much merry-making as
a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks
(Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a
small part of it is covered by the hair. The crowing vertical
and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
304 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a
984 kauna leaf (kia, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This
leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatf-
ampkura) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[396] water. It is the juice of kauna that yields the indelible dark-
blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound
for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves

●[278]



Fig. 1

with a pipe (amynichô-
ha(u)va) onto the wound.
It may be that they do this
to alleviate the pain, for
the girls cry a great deal
[107:115] throughout the
operation, and the tattooed
parts become terribly
swollen (ivuvurâ). As at

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucî
991 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance,
looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with
1 [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

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WAGLEY - TAPIRAPA SHAMANS

- 693 to avenge him, is generally not mentioned (16). A strong shaman makes
 (273) an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. In-
 (275) mams could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged
 by their families either, although one man made the point that
 shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
 anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the families of shamans.
- 693 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
 783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
 following the murder the murderer's relatives must retire to his hammock
 and have out of a white clay, hot dogs, and drink until by vapors of a
 brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
 (277) his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
 (302) body black with grease (*Crotophaga americana*) and put red ocher paint
 in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
 with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
 (279) formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
 at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
 have killed shamans must drink of kassit (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
 ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
 harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

- 276 Among the Tapirapa tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
 and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapa
 village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
 People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
 Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
 gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

- (276) (16) When I left the Tapirapa in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
 (277) men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamsiraho killed, avoided,
 and criticized Kamsir because he had killed Kamsiraho's wife's father.
 The antagonism was never given. When they met they treated each other formally
 and calmly. Other Tapirapa told me that Kamsiraho's wife continually gossiped
 about the behavior of Kamsiraho's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamsiraho's
 father".

- (272) (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
 273 to be poisonous.

RELATION TO OTHER MATERIAL. — ANTHROPOLOGY, N. S. — 15-6-1943 21

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Individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure; but its principal uses among the Tapirape are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirape men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fanning their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fanning of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and sickness are considered contagious substances acquired during the day through contact and it is believed they may be managed and fanned from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, sickness always cures in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. (1954)

(19) It hardly need be said that pipes do not eat before curing in this manner but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.